ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY
POLICING AS TRAUMA

There is a growing body of literature that considers the effects of policing on the mental and physical health of people of color. The following articles examine the traumatic impact of policing on people of color. The articles and studies are selected to expand our knowledge of the trauma associated with the disproportionate, unnecessary, and aggressive policing in communities of color, and to educate defenders, researchers, and policymakers who seek to dismantle or reform the systems that exacerbate physical and mental health inequities. For purposes of this bibliography, trauma is any deeply distressing or disturbing experience that can be caused by a physical injury or a psychological stressor. The article summaries are drawn from the articles cited.

These articles are cited in reverse chronological order. Please find the most recent articles at the beginning of each section.

I. Impact of Policing on Adolescent Health and Identity

Juan Del Toro, Dylan B. Jackson, and Ming-Te Wang, *The Policing Paradox: Police Stops Predict Youth's School Disengagement Via Elevated Psychological Distress,* Developmental Psychology 1 (2022).

andré douglas pond cummings, Todd J. Clark, Caleb Gregory Conrad, Amy Dunn Johnson, *Trauma: Community of Color Exposure to the Criminal Justice System as an Adverse Childhood Experience*, 90(3) U. of Cincinnati L. Rev. 857 (2022).

Alexander Testa and Dylan B. Jackson, *Adverse Childhood Experiences and Perceived Unfair Police Treatment: Differences by Race and Ethnicity*, J. Adolesc. Health 1 (2022).

Monique Jindal et al., *Police Exposures and the Health and Well-being of Black Youth in the US: A Systematic Review*, 176(1) JAMA Pediatr. 78 (2022).

Nia Heard-Garris, Tiffani Johnson, Rachel Hardeman, *The Harmful Effects of Policing—From the Neighborhood to the Hospital*, 176(1) JAMA Pediatr. 23 (2022).

Adam D. Fine, Jamie Amemiya, Paul Frick, Laurence Steinberg, and Elizabeth Cauffman, *Perceptions of Police Legitimacy and Bias from Ages 13 to 22 among Black, Latino, and White Justice-Involved Males*, 45(3) L. & Hum. Behav. 243 (2021).

Todd J. Clark, Caleb Gregory Conrad, andré douglas pond cummings, and Amy Dunn Johnson, *Meek Mill's Trauma: Brutal Policing as an Adverse Childhood Experience,* 33 St. Thomas L. Rev. 158 (2021).

Amanda Geller, *Youth-Police Contact: Burdens and Inequities in an Adverse Childhood Experience, 2014-2017*, 111 Am. J. Public Health 1300 (2021).

Dylan B. Jackson, *The Case for Conceptualizing Youth-Police Contact as a Racialized Adverse Childhood Experience*, 111 Am. J. Public Health 1189 (2021).

Dylan B. Jackson et al., *Unpacking Racial/Ethnic Disparities in Emotional Distress Among Adolescents During Witnessed Police Stops*, 69 J. Adolesc. Health 248 (2021).

Chad Posick and Akiv Dawson, *The Health Outcomes of Direct and Witnessed Interactions with the Police: Do Race and Ethnicity Matter*, 69 J. Adolesc. Health 183 (2021).

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Dylan B. Jackson et al., *Police Stops Among At-Risk Youth: Repercussions for Mental Health*, 65 J. Adolescent Health 627 (2019).

Dylan B. Jackson, Alexander Testa, and Michael G. Vaughn, *Low Self-Control and Adolescent Police Stop: Intrusiveness, Emotional Response, and Psychological Well-Being*, 66 J. Crim. Justice (2019).

Juan Del Toro et al., *The Criminogenic and Psychological Effects of Police Stops on Adolescent Black and Latino Boys*, 116 PNAS, 8261 (2019).

Brendesha M. Tynes et al., *Race-Related Traumatic Events Online and Mental Health Among Adolescents of Color*, 65 J. Adolescent Health 371 (2019).

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II. Impact of Policing on Adult Health

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I. IMPACT OF POLICING ON ADOLESCENT HEALTH & IDENTITY

Juan Del Toro, Dylan B. Jackson, and Ming-Te Wang, *The Policing Paradox: Police Stops Predict Youth's School Disengagement Via Elevated Psychological Distress,* Developmental Psychology 1 (2022)

Purpose

- To examine whether police stops may lead youth to greater school disengagement the next day.

Methodology

- Data come from 387 adolescents (40% male, 32% Black, 50% White, and 18% other ethnic-racial-minority; 69% qualified for free lunch) from eight public middle and high schools in the Mid-Atlantic region of the United States. Most students attended predominantly Black schools. In the counties where the schools are located, Black youth were referred to court at higher rates than Black youth nationally. The rate of police officers in the schools had doubled from 2015 to 2019.
- In the fall and spring semesters of the 2019-2020 academic year, researchers invited all students from the eight schools to participate in two waves of daily diaries. Students were given information about the study and had the option to choose whether or not to participate. Parents also consented.
- The two waves added up to 35 days (i.e. Wave 1: October 28, 2019 to November 17, 2019; Wave 2: March 2, 2020 to March 15, 2020). In each day, students completed online daily diaries between 5pm and 12am and received two to four daily reminders via email or text to complete these.
- Each day, adolescents were asked a single question to identify whether the police had stopped them. To characterize the nature of the police stops, they were asked a set of questions from the Police Intrusion Scale (e.g. "Did the police frisk or pat you down?"). Researchers summarized and scored these results with a higher score equaling greater police intrusion.
- Adolescents were asked four questions about their behavioral disengagement from school that day, including: "I skipped school or cut class," "I stayed focus in school today" (rated 1 = not at all to 5 = very much).
- Adolescents were also asked to self-report their anxiety, depressive symptoms, and anger (i.e. "How often did you feel anxious today?" "How often did you feel depressed or sad today?" "How often did you feel angry today?").

Results

- Adolescents who were stopped by the police reported enhanced next-day psychological distress, which in turn predicted increased school disengagement.
- Overall adolescents who were stopped by police reported more school disengagement than youth who were not stopped by police. In addition, youth who were stopped by police reported more next-day school disengagement relative to their own average (meaning they were less engaged with school than was typical for them specifically).

- Youth's school disengagement did not predict next-day police stops.
- Both Black and other ethnic-racial minority youth reported more police intrusion than did their White peers.
- The effect of police stops on next-day psychological distress was stronger for other ethnic-racial minority youth than for their Black and White peers, who did not differ between each other. Nonetheless, the effect of police stops on psychological distress and school disengagement was negative for all ethnic-racial groups.

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andré douglas pond cummings, Todd J. Clark, Caleb Gregory Conrad, Amy Dunn Johnson, *Trauma: Community of Color Exposure to the Criminal Justice System as an Adverse Childhood Experience*, 90(3) U. of Cincinnati L. Rev. 857 (2022).

- This law review article argues that police and the criminal justice system have a traumatic impact on Black and brown youth, and thus exposure to either should be considered an Adverse Childhood Experience (ACE).
- Part I of the article reviews ACEs research, including the link between high ACE scores and poor health outcomes, the short-term and long-term effects of trauma and toxic stress, and the prevalence of trauma in the Black community. The authors discuss "social disadvantage" as a widely-recognized category of ACEs, encapsulating the trauma produced by economic hardship, community violence, discrimination, and historical trauma. Black children are more likely to grow up in concentrated poverty and experience the ACE of "social disadvantage" due to federal, state, and local practices that created residential racial segregation.
- Part II discusses anti-Black policing and how current law enforcement traumatizes communities of color and their children often by design.
    - Black Americans are more than three times more likely to be killed during a law enforcement encounter than similarly situated white Americans. The killing of Black adults and children causes trauma and toxic stress to Black communities.
    - The authors connect current-day policing in America to its origins in slave patrols, arguing that anti-Blackness pervades policing and that communities of color have been further assaulted with additional trauma from the War on Drugs and subsequent evisceration of Fourth Amendment search and seizure protections.
- Part III describes how criminal charging, jailing, and sentencing traditionally have disproportionately targeted Black men, contributing to the trauma that their children and families experience with the loss of a loved one to death or incarceration.
    - The authors cite the example of the Jena Six—where prosecutors initially charged Black high schoolers with attempted second-degree murder after a confrontation with a white student resulted in minor injuries, but eventually reduced the charges to misdemeanor simple battery— and Kalief Browder—who continued to struggle with the trauma of incarceration and solitary confinement even after he was released and charges were dropped—to argue that even when justice eventually prevails the trauma of systemic racial inequity can continue to impact the accused and their families.
- Part IV cites research on the traumatic impact of direct and vicarious police encounters on youth of color and argues that exposure to US law enforcement agents and the justice system at large actually functions as an ACE for youth of color in a way that is not

present for non-minority youth and, as such, should be added to the list of ACEs that are formally recognized by public health officials.
    - The childhood trauma caused by the criminal justice system is not limited to exposure to police. Parental and personal involvement in the system is linked to an array of long-term negative health outcomes. Citing researchers Andrew Axelson and Samantha Boch, the authors note that if having an incarcerated parent was classified as a chronic health condition, it would be the second most prevalent chronic condition for children under 18 in the United States.
- Part V proposes reframing and reimagining policing in the United States to reform the criminal justice system so that the trauma it inflicts upon children of color and the resulting racial health disparities can be significantly mitigated.
    - While public health experts have begun to advocate that justice system exposure be added as an ACE, prevailing institutions (such as the CDC and the National Conference of State Legislatures) have failed to include it in their reports.
    - The authors call for both changes to the law regarding police use of force and for reforms to how police are hired and trained. Additional policy recommendations are focused on ending mass incarceration in the adult criminal justice system. The authors also recommend training judges about the traumatic impact of policing on youth of color as part of sentencing mitigation advocacy.

Alexander Testa and Dylan B. Jackson, *Adverse Childhood Experiences and Perceived Unfair Police Treatment: Differences by Race and Ethnicity*, J. Adolesc. Health 1 (2022).

Purpose

- To examine differences among racial groups in the relationship between the number of Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACEs) and the likelihood of perceived unfair police treatment in the United States

Methodology

- Data come from the Add Health study, a national representative longitudinal study of adolescents enrolled in grades 7-12 (ages 12-19 years) in public, private, and parochial schools in the United States during the 1994-1995 academic year. To date, four follow-up interviews have been conducted (most recently in 2016-2018 when participants were 33-43 years old).
- In the 2016-2018 follow-up interview, participants were asked if they had ever been unfairly stopped, searched, or questioned by police. Those who answered "no" either had no police contact or viewed their interactions with police as fair. Those who answered "yes" had at least 1 interaction they perceived as unfair.
- Participants were asked whether they had exposure or no exposure to the following ACEs: emotional abuse, physical abuse, sexual abuse, community violence, substance abuse, suicide, divorce, parental incarceration, emotional neglect, and physical neglect. Researchers grouped participants into categories based on whether they had experienced 0, 1, 2, 3, or 4 or more ACEs.
- Researchers controlled for the following factors: biological sex, US born, depressive symptoms, low socioeconomic status, illicit drug use, and self-reported involvement in

delinquent activity at the time of enrollment in the study (i.e. when the participant was 12-19 years old).

Results

- For non-Black individuals, accumulating ACEs increases the likelihood of perceived unfair police treatment by adulthood.
- Perceived unfair police treatment was highest among non-Hispanic Black individuals (35.5%) and lowest among non-Hispanic White individuals (13.7%) with 24.8% of Hispanic respondents reporting unfair police treatment.
- 18.2% of non-Hispanic Black respondents reported four or more ACEs, compared to 11.6% among non-Hispanic White respondents and 16.3% among Hispanic respondents.
- Perceived unfair police treatment is a ubiquitous experience in the lives of Black individuals regardless of ACE exposure.
- Non-Hispanic Black individuals with a history of zero ACEs have a higher probability of experiencing unfair police treatment than Hispanic or non-Hispanic White individuals who have 4 or more ACEs.
- White individuals exhibited an especially low risk of perceived unfair police treatment, but significant elevations in this risk as ACEs increased. Even so, White individuals with the highest levels of ACE exposure still exhibit substantially lower odds of perceived unfair police treatment than Black individuals with the lowest levels of ACE exposure.
- Males (relative to females) and Black individuals (relative to White individuals) were approximately four times more likely to experience unfair police contact.

Monique Jindal et al., *Police Exposures and the Health and Well-being of Black Youth in the US: A Systematic Review*, 176(1) JAMA Pediatr. 78 (2022).

Purpose

- To systematically review the literature describing the link between police exposure and health outcomes for Black youth 26 years and younger.
- Black youth in the US experience disproportionate contact with police even when accounting for criminal or delinquent behavior, which some experts say is fueled by racism and discrimination. While the literature supports the link between racism and adverse health outcomes, less is known about the impact of policing on the well-being of Black youth.

Methodology

- This systematic review examined studies that explored the association between police exposures and health outcomes for Black youth 26 years and younger. All studies were peer-reviewed original research (quantitative or qualitative) conducted in the US and published between 1980, when community policing became prevalent, and December 2020.
- The 29 studies in this review (16 quantitative and 13 qualitative) include data from 19,954 participants aged 9 to 26.
- Exposure to police was defined to include presence of police in schools, personal experiences ranging from benign stops to use of force and arrest, witnessing another person's contact with police, and perceptions of police discrimination.

- Health outcomes included mental health, risk behaviors (e.g. substance use), and safety (e.g. fear of police and vulnerability of mistreatment). Researchers did not find studies on physical health that met the criteria for inclusion—a gap in the literature that will need to be filled by additional research.

Results

- This review found that the current body of research, although limited, reveals a link (called a "positive association") between police exposures and adverse health outcomes for Black youth. Only 3 studies did not reveal this association, and they were of weak or moderate quality.
- Mental Health: Qualitative studies identified connections between police exposure and stress and depression. Quantitative studies showed a strong link with stress, but mixed findings regarding depression, possibly because Black youth may not use the label of depression for their symptoms.
- Risk Behaviors: Both quantitative and qualitative studies showed evidence of a link between police exposure and sexual and substance abuse risk behaviors.
- Safety: One quantitative study showed police exposure was linked with feelings of safety, but this was not supported by the 1 quantitative study assessing fear or the multiple qualitative studies showing police exposures' association with fear for life.
- While both quantitative and qualitative studies linked police exposure to adverse health outcomes, the qualitative studies illuminated the specific role of racism in this outcome. Examples of this include:
    - Participants reported anger as a result of having to respond to racism and interact with a system in place to protect that instead caused them harm.
    - The inability to resolve confrontation with police lead to symptoms of depression.
    - Marginalization and being assumed to be guilty contributed to frustration, anxiety, and hopelessness.
    - This also applied to risky behavior, including avoidance of carrying condoms in fear that police would confiscate them and see them as evidence of sex work.
- The authors note that while there is a growing focus on the most serious consequences of police exposure, including death, this systematic review shows that seemingly trivial police contact or even fear of contact may be detrimental to the health of Black youth.

Nia Heard-Garris, Tiffani Johnson, Rachel Hardeman, *The Harmful Effects of Policing—From the Neighborhood to the Hospital*, 176(1) JAMA Pediatr. 23 (2022).

- This editorial article connects the above study by Monique Jindal et al., (*Police Exposures and the Health and Well-being of Black Youth in the US: A Systematic Review)* to additional research showing that individuals with negative police encounters have higher levels of medical mistrust and subsequent unmet health care needs.
- Despite these pressing concerns about the intersection of police brutality and access to medical care, many healthcare systems welcome police and have created their own security/police departments where there is less training and data transparency. The authors warn that this reinforces racial hierarchy and erects boundaries within the walls of healing spaces.

- Physicians and nurses weaponize race, power, and privilege when they feel threatened by expressions of emotion that differ from the White cultural norms of acceptable behavior. Black patients and their visitors are more than twice as likely to generate a request for security presence than their White counterparts.
- Although healthcare systems may assert that police presence protects their staff, the authors argue that it comes at the risk of deepening medical mistrust and delaying patient care, as well as compromising patients' confidentiality and civil rights.
- Relevance: Defenders could use insights from this article to inform their advocacy for youth who are accused of delinquent behavior in a healthcare setting or who are interrogated by police or otherwise searched within the confines of a hospital.

Adam D. Fine, Jamie Amemiya, Paul Frick, Laurence Steinberg, and Elizabeth Cauffman, *Perceptions of Police Legitimacy and Bias from Ages 13 to 22 among Black, Latino, and White Justice-Involved Males*, 45(3) L. & Hum. Behav. 243 (2021).

Purpose

- Although researchers, policymakers, and practitioners recognize the importance of the public's perceptions of police, few studies have examined developmental trends in adolescents' and young adults' view of police.
- Police legitimacy is important because it leads to cooperation with law enforcement and engagement in law-abiding and pro-social behavior into adulthood.
- Youth of color, predominantly Black and Latino youth, generally report more negative perceptions of law enforcement than do White youth. Yet, it is unknown at what ages such racial/ethnic differences emerge because few studies have tracked this.

Methodology

- Using longitudinal data from the Crossroads Study, this study examined trends in males' perceptions of police legitimacy from ages 13 to 22, as well as whether perceptions of police bias were associated with perceptions of police legitimacy.
- Participants were 1,216 male youth who had been arrested for the first time for a specific low-to-moderate offense such as vandalism, arrest, or possession of marijuana.
- The sample was racially and ethnically diverse: Latino/Hispanic (46%), Black/African American (37%), White (15%), and self-identified other race (2%).
- Youth were between 13 and 17 years of age and participated in nine survey waves across 5 years.
- Perceptions of police bias and legitimacy were measured through two surveys where youth were asked to respond on a 4 point scale (*strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*), including statements like "I have a great deal of respect for the police," "Overall, the police are honest," "Police treat people differently based on their racial/ethnic group," and "Police treat people differently depending on the neighborhoods they are from."
- Researchers also looked at socioeconomic status (based on parent's highest level of education), involvement in criminal behavior across the study period (using a self-report measure), and re-arrest (using case records).

Results

- Perceptions of police legitimacy followed a U-shaped curve that declined during adolescence, reached its lowest point around age 18, and improved during the transition to adulthood.
    - Latino youth tended to report worse perceptions, but their perceptions declined to a smaller degree during adolescence before improving into young adulthood.
    - Black youth tended to report statistically more negative perceptions of police legitimacy across ages compared to both White and Latino youth. Black youth's perceptions of police legitimacy declined until around age 18 and showed only slight improvements thereafter.
- Police bias increased during adolescence before largely plateauing into early adulthood.
- Perceptions of police bias were consistently associated with more negative perceptions of police legitimacy across races and ages. A steeper increase in police bias over time was associated with a more pronounced decline in perceived police legitimacy.

Todd J. Clark, Caleb Gregory Conrad, andré douglas pond cummings, and Amy Dunn Johnson, *Meek Mill's Trauma: Brutal Policing as an Adverse Childhood Experience,* 33 St. Thomas L. Rev. 158 (2021).

- In this law review article, authors argue that policing should be considered an Adverse Childhood Experience (ACE) while using the lyrics of Meek Mill to illuminate the brutal realities of the policing of Black youth. [For more information on policing and justice system involvement as an ACE, read the annotation for the 2022 article by the same authors included on page five of this document: andré douglas pond cummings, Todd J. Clark, Caleb Gregory Conrad, Amy Dunn Johnson, *Trauma: Community of Color Exposure to the Criminal Justice System as an Adverse Childhood Experience*, 90(3) U. of Cincinnati L. Rev. 857 (2022).]
- Part I reviews ACEs research, including the prevalence of ACEs in the Black community, and provides an overview of the groundbreaking original ACE study that discovered the direct link between high ACE scores and poor health outcomes.
- Part II discusses the broad ACE category of social disadvantage and how a child growing up in an environment built on a foundation of poverty and violence will inevitably have more trauma, more ACEs, and be harmed through this experience of toxic stress.
- Part III provides an overview of anti-Black policing and how law enforcement traumatizes communities and youth.
- Part IV explains how criminal charging and sentencing disproportionately target Black men, contributing to the trauma their children experience.
- Part V argues that contact with policing and the criminal justice system are ACEs for Black children.
- Part VI discusses Meek Mill's efforts to reform the criminal justice system. Mill uses his story to inspire his art and activism. He founded the REFORM Alliance in 2019, along with Jay-Z and the owners of two professional sports teams. REFORM has helped pass legislation in states that have reduced probation caseloads and prevented the imprisonment of people on probation for technical violations.
- **Relevance:** Defenders can look to the authors' pairing of Meek Mill's lyrics with research as an example of how to incorporate their client's artistic expression in pleadings. For example, the authors cite research on the trauma Black youth experience in police

encounters and then quote Meek Mill describing his own experience and referencing the police killing of Stephon Clark: "Yeah, they called it the projects, they put us in projects / What they gon' do with us? Can't call the cops yet / You might just get popped at / Cause they the ones shootin' us / I'm on my mom's steps, it's like a bomb threat / The violence pursuing us / Ain't no PTSDs them drugs keep it at ease / They shot that boy twenty times when they coulda told him just freeze / Coulda put him in a cop car, but they let him just bleed."

Amanda Geller, *Youth-Police Contact: Burdens and Inequities in an Adverse Childhood Experience, 2014-2017*, 111 Am. J. Public Health 1300 (2021).

Purpose

- To assess police contact with youth in urban-areas across the United States as a potential adverse childhood experience by measuring its frequency, nature, and distribution among urban adolescents.

Methodology

- Youth involved in this research were enrolled in the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study (FFCWS).
    - FFCWS followed 4,898 children born in 20 large cities between 1998 and 2000.
    - Out of those 4,898 children, 3,442 were urban births, and out of those urban born, 2,478 were interviewed at year 15 (Y15); it is this sample of youth that make-up the present study.
    - The resulting sample was socioeconomically disadvantaged with high proportions of Black and Hispanic families and high rates of criminal justice involvement.
    - Adolescent demographics were placed into five categories (white, Black, Hispanic, other race, and multiple races).
- The survey measured several aspects of adolescents' experiences with the police by asking them a series of questions, including whether they had personally been stopped or whether they had vicarious police contact.
- Adolescents personally stopped provided details pertaining to their experiences, including the number of stops they experienced, their age when first stopped, and officer behavior in the stop which most stood out in their mind ("critical stop").
- Adolescents were also asked to self-report their participation in delinquent activities over the past year. Analyses adjusted for adolescents' self-reported behavior, meaning the below results are not likely due to differences in youth behavior.

Results

- Urban youth are heavily policed, beginning as early as junior high school.
    - 19% of adolescents reported having been stopped by the police while 69% reported vicarious contact.
    - Police exposure through vicarious contact was common across race, with most Black, white, and Hispanic adolescents reporting.
    - In experiences of being personally stopped by police, however, racial disparities were pronounced.

    - Black boys and girls were far more likely than their white counterparts to report being personally stopped:
        - 39% of Black boys and 14% of Black girls compared to 23% of white Boys and 10% of white girls.
    - Racial disparities were most evident in officer intrusion during the critical stop and were most pronounced among boys:
        - Two-thirds of Black and Hispanic boys reported intrusion (such as frisks, harsh language, racial slurs, threats or use of physical force, and handcuffing) in their critical stops while less than one quarter of white boys had similar experiences.
    - Although police intrusion was less frequent among girls, when it did occur, it was primarily reported by Black girls and was essentially nonexistent for white girls.
    - Black boys had odds of reporting police contact more than twice those of white boys.
- Considering the pronounced racial disparities in officer intrusion during "critical stops," research suggests that police encounters with non-white adolescents are qualitatively different, and substantially more aggressive than those with white adolescents, and potentially traumatic.
- Notably, disparities were concentrated among children of less educated mothers, and not observed among the children of college graduate mothers. This finding is in contrast to previous research that has found racial disparities in policing of youth with high socioeconomic status.
- The continual and extensive exposure to aggressive policing faced by young people, particularly Black and Hispanic youth, have the potential to impact their immediate and long-term physical and mental health well beyond the effects currently documented.
- The researcher concludes by arguing that because aggressive police contact is so common in the lives of Black and Hispanic urban youth, early police contact should be designated as an ACE in order to provide institutional recognition (particularly in mental and physical healthcare and education) of the potential for harm in police encounters and draw on an established literature and policy and practice framework for the prevention, identification, and treatment of these harms.

Dylan B Jackson, *The Case for Conceptualizing Youth-Police Contact as a Racialized Adverse Childhood Experience*, 111 Am. J. Public Health 1189 (2021).

- This editorial article connects the above study by Amanda Geller (*Youth-Police Contact: Burdens and Inequities in an Adverse Childhood Experience*) to additional research on the traumatic impact of policing on youth of color, arguing that curtailing the hyper-surveillance of Black youth and bolstering community infrastructure (such as community centers, after-school and youth empowerment programs) are urgent public health necessities.
- Encounters with police are traumatic for Black youth and are internalized by youth as "extremely frightening, harmful, or threatening" and can potentially cause adverse physiological symptoms.

- Police-induced trauma is, in many respects, its own class of trauma; it is set apart as a uniquely potent historical, racialized, intergenerational form of trauma that is affixed to a collective experience of marginalization.
- Better assessment tools, such as a culturally informed adverse childhood experiences (C-ACE) framework, are needed to identify and respond to the traumatic impact of policing in the lives of Black youth.
- Additional research must be done to identify the policy and programmatic solutions to mitigate the trauma of racialized police encounters, including equipping teachers to facilitate non-stigmatizing, culturally competent conversations about these experiences in ways that provide support and prevent re-traumatization.

Dylan B. Jackson et al., *Unpacking Racial/Ethnic Disparities in Emotional Distress Among Adolescents During Witnessed Police Stops*, 69 J. Adolesc. Health 248 (2021).

Purpose

- To investigate the racial/ethnic disparities in emotional distress during witnessed police stops among a national sample of urban-born youth.

Methodology

- The sample comes from the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study (FFCWS), which is a national study of roughly 4,800 urban youth born between 1998 and 2000.
- Due to the data collection methods of FFCWS, many of the youth come from single-parent homes with disproportionate exposure to various hardships, including family members intimately acquainted with the justice system and various kinds of police encounters.
- Out of the 4,800-youth involved in the study, 1,488 of them reported having witnessed police stops between 2014 and 2017. These 1,488 youth are the focal point of the present study.
- Among the 1,488 youth, 17.21% were white, 26.88% were Hispanic, 48.19% were Black, 5.31% were multiracial and 2.41% reported another race/ethnicity.
- These youth completed surveys to measure emotional distress, officer intrusiveness, and perceptions of procedural injustice, asking
    - At the time of the incident (i.e. the witnessed stop), did you feel: 1. Scared, 2. Angry, 3. Safe
    - Did the officer: 1. Frisk them or pat them down, 2. Search their bags or pockets, 3. Use harsh language, 4. Use racial slurs, 5. Threaten physical force, 6. Use physical force
    - How often in the incidents you witnessed did the police 1. Explain why they stopped the person in a way that was clear to them, 2. Treat them with dignity and courtesy, and 3. Respect their rights

Results

- Out of the sampled 1,488 youth, greater emotional distress existed among youth of color, particularly multiracial, Black and Hispanic youth.

- This emotional distress stemmed primarily from acts of officer intrusiveness and what youth perceived as procedurally unjust treatment of citizens during observed stops.
- Multiracial and Black youth were most frequently exposed to intrusive treatment during witnessed stops; 27% and 28% of multiracial youth witnessed threats of force and use of force, respectively, whereas only 9% and 14% of white youth witnessed threats of force and use of force, respectively.
- During witnessed police stops, 22% of Black youth and 23% of multiracial youth reported feeling angry whereas only 9% of white youth reported similar feelings; 28% of Black youth and 31% of multiracial youth reported feeling unsafe compared to only 11% of white youth.
- Odds of emotional distress during witnessed police stops greatly increase among youth of color; relative to white youth, Hispanic youth were 101% more likely to feel angry during stops and Black youth were 138% more likely to feel angry; This trend continues in youth feeling unsafe during witnessed stops – relative to white youth, the odds of feeling unsafe during the stop were 72% higher among Hispanic youth, 117% higher among Black youth and 152% higher among multiracial youth.

Chad Posick and Akiv Dawson, *The Health Outcomes of Direct and Witnessed Interactions with the Police: Do Race and Ethnicity Matter*, 69 J. Adolesc. Health 183 (2021).

- This article discusses how even the most routine police interactions can have profound impacts on an individual and in some cases even lead to "psychological distress, depression, anxiety, and suicidal behavior."
- Negative health and behavioral outcomes are not limited to direct police encounters but also include indirect encounters, i.e., exposure through media such as the Rodney King beating or the George Floyd murder, or observing a negative encounter involving a family member or friend.
- Research indicates that negative and/or unwelcomed police encounters exist as part of the shared cultural memory of Black Americans that is passed down from one generation to the next. This ingrained cultural memory contributes to the cumulative trauma experienced by the community.
- Memories of these negative prior events become cultural forces imbedded with collective meaning. They become metaphorical representations of a "continuation of violence experienced by the whole community."
- Research suggests that policies and programs can potentially limit the increasingly negative health consequences that come from police interactions; these include: 1) screening for both bodily and mental health symptoms by professionals who typically come in contact with youth often, 2) Trauma-informed trainings for police officers, 3) Moving away from intrusive police practices.

Mike Males, *Police Shooting Statistics of Unarmed Suspects Show the Young More Likely to Be Killed,* Juvenile Justice Information Exchange, February 11, 2021.

Methodology

- The Juvenile Justice Information Exchange analyzed data collected and reported by the Washington Post (considered the most complete tabulation of shootings by American law enforcement officers) in the six-year period from January 1, 2015 through January 13, 2021.

Findings

- Even when suspects are unarmed and not attacking anyone, officers are more likely to shoot Black, Native, and Latinx people than white people. Police are two to three times more likely to shoot Native and Black suspects, and 20% more likely to shoot Latinx suspects than white suspects.
- Police are much more likely to shoot unarmed, nonattacking young people than older people. Unarmed, non-attacking teenagers are nearly five times more likely to be shot to death by officers than similarly non-attacking middle-aged suspects.
- An unarmed, non-attacking white teenager is eight times more likely and a similarly non-attacking Latinx teenager is ten times more likely to be shot by police than a non-attacking member of their respective races age 50 or older.
- However, unarmed, non-attacking Black suspects age 50 and older are just as likely to be shot as similarly unarmed, non-attacking Black teenagers.

Gia Badolato et al., *Racial and Ethnic Disparities in Firearm-Related Pediatric Deaths Related to Legal Intervention,* 146(6) Pediatrics (2020).

Purpose

- To measure racial and ethnic differences in adolescent mortality rates related to firearm injury from law enforcement over a 16-year period.

Methodology

- Researchers utilized data from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention Web-Based Injury Statistics Query and Reporting System (WISQARS), which collects data from death certificates.
- The data set included adolescents aged 12 to 17 years who died from firearm injury from legal intervention from 2003 to 2018.
- During the 16-year study period, 140 adolescents died by legal intervention and of those deaths 131 (92%) involved a firearm. The majority (93.18%) were boys with a mean age 15.94.

Results

- 41.98% of youth killed were Black, compared to 26.52% white and 26.71% Hispanic.
- Black and Hispanic youth are disproportionate victims in fatal police shootings.

Relevance

- Black and Hispanic youth have greater reason to fear police compared to white youth because they are killed by police shootings at disproportionate rates.

- As an ongoing public health crisis, it is critical that interventions and policies are implemented to mitigate these tragedies.

Dylan B. Jackson et al., *Police Stops and Sleep Behaviors Among At-Risk Youth,* J. Nat. Sleep Foundation (2020).

Purpose

- This study examines the association between exposure to police stops and sleep behaviors and explores whether social stigma and post-traumatic stress might inform this association.

Methodology

- A sample of 3,444 U.S. youth were studied. Youth reported their sleep quantity and quality, exposure to vicarious and direct police stops, police intrusiveness during police stops, and experiences of social stigma and post-traumatic stress following the stop.

Results

- Stress caused by frequent police stops actually deprives youth of sleep.
- Youth who reported exposure to police stops exhibited significantly greater odds of sleep deprivation and low sleep quality.
- Even when youth are bystanders or witness the more subtly abusive police behaviors, they still experience trauma that lowers both the quality of their sleep and the number of hours.
- This association was attenuated to non-significance when social stigma and post-traumatic stress following the stop were taken into account.

Michael J. McFarland, Amanda Geller, Cheryl McFarland, *Police Contact and Health Among Urban Adolescents: The Role of Perceived Injustice*, 238 Social Science & Medicine (2019).

Purpose

- To evaluate whether personal and vicarious police contact are related to self and caregiver-reports of teen health and to what extent these associations vary by perceptions of procedural injustice

Methodology

- Researchers analyzed longitudinal health data collected from 3435 adolescents in the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study alongside teen self-reports of whether they were stopped by police or experienced vicarious police contact, and if so, their perceptions of procedural injustice in these encounters.
- Youth were given a survey that asked "In general, how is your health?" with responses ranging from "1 (poor)" to "5 (excellent)." Primary caregivers were asked the same question about their child.
- Primary caregivers were also asked about whether the adolescent experienced stress-linked somatic symptoms, such as "frequent diarrhea or colitis," "frequent headaches or migraines," and "trouble breathing or wheezing."

- Participants were asked if they had been personally stopped or whether they had witnessed someone else being stopped by police or had heard from someone they knew about having been stopped.
- If participants reported they had experienced direct or vicarious police contact, they were then asked questions about the times of the stops, how often police explained the reason for the stop, how often police treated them with dignity and courtesy, and how often police respected their rights.
- Researchers controlled for competing stressors, including economic distress, parental incarceration, witnessing a crime, victimization, and a perceived lack of neighborhood safety.

Results

- Participants who reported personal or vicarious police stops had worse self-reported health in adolescence than their counterparts with no contact.
- Both types of police contact were unrelated to caregiver reports of adolescent health and inconsistently related to somatic symptoms. Researchers suggest this may indicate limitations in caregivers' abilities to assess their teens' health.
- Procedural injustice exacerbated the relationship between both personal and vicarious police contact and diminished self-reported health.
- Associations between police contact and self-reported health were stronger among Black and Hispanic adolescents than white ones, meaning Black and Hispanic youth experienced worse health after police contact.
- These results highlight personal and vicarious police contact, particularly instances viewed as procedurally unjust, as commonly experienced adverse health events among urban adolescents.

Dylan B. Jackson et al., *Police Stops Among At-Risk Youth: Repercussions for Mental Health*, 65 J. Adolescent Health 627 (2019).

Purpose

- This study examines the mental health consequences of police interactions on Black and Hispanic at-risk youth who report being stopped at least once by the police.

Methodology

- The average age of the participants was fifteen years old.
- Participants reported their level of emotional distress during the stop, feelings of social stigma after the stop, and posttraumatic stress symptoms after the stop.

Results

- Youth more frequently stopped by police are more likely to report heightened emotional distress and post-traumatic stress symptoms than youth who are not stopped as frequently.
- Age at first stop did not impact mental health outcomes.
- The environment in which the youth is stopped predicts mental health outcomes. More specifically, youth who were stopped at school reported more emotional distress during the

stop, social stigma after the stop, and PTSD after the stop than youth who were stopped on the street.
- Similarly, the level of intrusiveness of the stop predicted the youths' mental health responses: the more intrusive the stop, the greater the youths' emotional distress, social stigma, and PTSD symptoms.

Dylan B. Jackson, Alexander Testa, and Michael G. Vaughn, *Low Self-Control and Adolescent Police Stop: Intrusiveness, Emotional Response, and Psychological Well-Being*, 66 J. Crim. Justice (2019).

Purpose
- This research extends the literature on both Gottfredson and Hirschi's (1990) self-control theory and adolescent police stops by exploring the role of low self-control in the features and consequences of police stops among urban-born youth.

Results
- Youth with lower levels of self-control are more likely to be stopped by police and more likely to experience greater emotional distress and social stigma from police stops.
- Black youth were prone to more intrusive and hostile interactions with police.
- Among stopped youth, those with lower levels of self-control were more likely to
    - be stopped multiple times and in multiple locations (particularly at school);
    - report more procedural injustice and officer intrusiveness; and
    - experience greater emotional distress during police encounters and social stigma and post- traumatic stress following encounters.

Juan Del Toro et al., *The Criminogenic and Psychological Effects of Police Stops on Adolescent Black and Latino Boys*, 116 PNAS, 8261 (2019).

Purpose
- This study explores the short and long-term effects of police contact on young people subjected to high rates of contact with law enforcement.

Methodology
- The study included Black and Latino boys in ninth and tenth grade.
- Psychological distress measures included stress-related symptoms (e.g. "I found it hard to wind down"), depressive symptoms (e.g. "I felt downhearted and blue"), and anxiety symptoms ("I felt I was close to panic").

Results
- Adolescent Black and Latino boys who were stopped by police reported more frequent engagement in delinquent behavior six, twelve, and eighteen months later than boys who were not stopped by the police (independent of prior delinquency).
- The relationship between police-encounter and subsequent delinquency was mediated, at least in part, by the psychological distress these youth experience due to police stops.

- In other words, stops cause stress which causes delinquent behavior.
- Adolescents who experienced more frequent police stops reported greater concurrent distress and greater concurrent delinquency than adolescents who experienced less frequent police stops.
- The relationship between initial police-stop and future delinquency was stronger in the younger boys were when stopped for the first time.

Brendesha M. Tynes et al., *Race-Related Traumatic Events Online and Mental Health Among Adolescents of Color*, 65 J. Adolescent Health 371 (2019).

Purpose

- This study assesses whether viewing race-related traumatic events online (TEO) was associated with depressive and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) symptoms.

Methodology

- The national sample included 302 African American and Latinx adolescents between 11–19 years old.
- The TEOs included: seeing images or videos of others from their ethnic group being beaten, arrested or detained, and a viral video of a Black person being shot by a police officer.

Results

- There is a significant association between TEO and both PTSD symptoms and depressive symptoms.
- Participants reported depressive symptoms such as "being sad," "feeling like crying," "feeling alone," and "feeling like they had friends."
- PTSD symptoms included re-experiencing, hyperarousal, and numbing.
- Viewing each type of TEO was associated with reporting PTSD symptoms. Additionally, more frequently viewing TEOs was associated with higher levels of depressive symptoms and PTSD symptoms.

Ana Lilia Campos-Manzo et al., *Unjustified: Youth of Color Navigating Police Presence Across Sociospatial Environments,* 10(3) Race and Justice 297 (2018).

Purpose

- To explore how nondelinquent adolescents of color experience police presence across a racially/ethnically and socioeconomically segregated metropolitan area in the U.S.
- *Note:* This study does not explicitly measure trauma, but does assess and compare African American and Latino/a youth's perception of the police.

Methodology

- This study included 84 nondelinquent boys and girls of color, specifically 41 boys and 43 girls, ages 9–17, of African American, Latino/a, Jamaican-American, Nigerian/Saint Lucian, and multiracial/ethnic descent.
- The study conducted semi-structured interviews at four community youth centers.

- Interviewers asked questions like: What do you think about this place? What have been your experiences with peers? What about adults? What did you think about the situation [that involved the police]? How did you feel? Have there been other similar situations?

Results

- Nondelinquent adolescents of color experienced police presence as surveillance and as response to crime in gendered and racialized ways across segregated cities and suburbs in Evergreen, South Carolina.
- In Downtown Greenville, a predominantly Latina/Latino, African American, and Jamaican American segment of the city, with high levels of poverty and police presence, boys of color experienced intense police surveillance, including harassment and a negative focus with no clear investigative purpose. Both boys and girls of color state they experienced police failing to address victimization, and choosing instead to focus on illicit substances/drugs use and the presence of all-terrain vehicles (ATVs) on the streets.
- In West Greenville, a predominantly white population and high socioeconomic indicators, youth experienced policing as protective and as a response to disputes in the neighborhood.
- In East Greenville and the suburbs, the racially/ethnically and socioeconomically diverse city and predominantly white suburbs with high socioeconomic indicators, the adolescents experienced "officer friendly" and "calm" areas with almost no police presence.

Relevance

- Policing is most prevalent and persistent in the lives of youth of color.

Michelle E. Chen, ***Mass Incarceration and Adolescent Development: Connecting Identity and Trauma in Black Adolescent Males*****, Child Development Theses at Sarah Lawrence College (2018).**

Purpose

- This thesis explores the impact of mass incarceration and over-policing on Black adolescent development and identity formation. It is particularly focused on identity and self worth in Black adolescents.

Methodology

- The author worked with people affected by mass incarceration as a middle school counselor and a student in a six-year graduate program. The stories from the children she worked with informed this thesis.

Results

- For young Black men, messages of reduced self-worth and diminished value resulting from over-policing reinforce negative images of the self.
- The thesis compiles research on adolescent cognitive development demonstrating that teens are not able to make informed decisions like adults because of how their brains functions.

- The experience of incarceration, paired with the lack of rehabilitative services, leads to long-lasting trauma for Black boys who are incarcerated at a young age.
- Trauma impacts self-worth, which is particularly damaging when the brain is still developing. Trauma can leave youth with a low sense of self-worth, poor self-esteem, and identity confusion. Adolescents also feel shame and guilt as a result of their trauma and experience impaired ability to form or maintain relationships with peers. Without support and the ability to manage intense emotions, many youth engage in self-harm, substance abuse, or criminal activity.

Zuleka Henderson, *In Their Own Words: How 12 Black Teens Define Trauma*, J. of Child and Adolescent Trauma 141 (2017).

Purpose & Methodology

- This is a qualitative study that explores the concept of trauma from the perspectives of 12 low-income Black teens.
- The researcher asserts that because perception plays a critical role in distinguishing a traumatic experience and its impact, it is important to explore how Black youth characterize trauma *in their own terms* instead of relying solely on established clinical criteria as the metric for identifying and evaluating trauma.
- The findings present important implications for the development of more culturally and developmentally inclusive discussions of trauma and for clinical practice with low-income, Black youth who are impacted by trauma and adversity.

Results

- Participants' descriptions included death and loss, exposure to violence, police harassment, racism and discrimination, poverty, being stuck in "the hood," and being bullied.
- Participants highlighted traumatic factors that are not enumerated in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders.
- Dealing with death and loss emerged as the most prominent dimension associated with trauma. All 12 participants described that Black teens from their neighborhoods commonly lose parents, siblings, and friends to violence and incarceration or lose other family members to health challenges, including cancer. While acknowledging that death was a part of life, participants talked about death and loss as a hardship for Black youth in their communities because of the frequency with which it happens and because of the negative impact that it has on teens to repeatedly deal with mourning the loss of loved ones.
- Several participants identified negative interactions with the police among the major sources of trauma or hardship for Black teens in their communities. One youth described that police commonly approach Black youth and force them to disperse from areas where they gather to socialize. Others indicated that police frequently question youth from their communities and treat them as if they are guilty, without probable cause.

Nikki Jones, *"The Regular Routine": Proactive Policing an Adolescent Development Among Young, Poor Black Men*, 143 New Directions Child and Adolescent Dev. 33 (2014).

Purpose & Methodology

- In this study, the author conducted a series of interviews with adult and adolescent Black men to examine the effects of policing on their sense of self.
- Participants were part of Brothers Changing the Hood, a San Francisco-based nonprofit organization that aims to influence Black men in the neighborhood and help them stay away from violence and the criminal justice system.

Results

- For poor, young Black men who live in high-surveillance neighborhoods, police contact is a routine feature of their adolescent lives.
- Routine police interaction injures a young person's sense of self, especially when these interactions occur during adolescence.
- Because adolescence is typically marked by increased psychological autonomy in that "individuals begin to explore and examine psychological characteristics of their self in order to discover who they really are," an adolescent's interaction with authoritarian figures that are often degrading and dehumanizing informs his beliefs about "who he is, who he can become, his commitment to mainstream society, and, ultimately, his beliefs in the fairness and legitimacy of policing." Thus, vicarious exposure to policing reaffirms Black youth's negative attitudes towards the police and results in secondary shame and degradation.

Amber J. Landers et al., *Police Contacts and Stress Among African American College Students*, 81 Am. J. Orthopsychiatry 72 (2011).

Purpose & Methodology

- This study focuses on attitudes toward police by Black undergraduate students (66 women, 35 men) ages 16 to 21.
- They rated the frequency and stressfulness of 83 general, college-related, race-related, and police-related events (e.g. "being pulled over", "witnessing police conduct search without good reason" or a "loved one being pulled over"). For each stress item, participants rated the frequency of occurrence within the last two years and rated the event's stressfulness.

Results

- More passive and non-problematic police contact, such as witnessing a person request assistance from the police, was associated with lower stress levels.
- By contrast, more harmful contact with the police, such as witnessing the police use excessive force during an arrest, was associated with greater stress levels.
- Vicarious contact produced similar stress levels as direct contact.
- Greater frequency of police contact correlated with greater stress across all types of police contact, regardless of intrusiveness. In other words, even innocuous treatment by police, if frequent, increased participants' stress levels.
- Male college students reported significantly greater stress across all types of police contact than did their female counterparts.
- Researchers measured participants' "ethnic centrality," or the degree to which participants' considered their ethnicity an important part of how they define themselves.

- Greater centrality of ethnic identity was associated with less stress for benign police contacts. This finding was consistent with those of other studies that suggest that elements of ethnic identity may act as a buffer to depression and psychological distress.

II. IMPACT OF POLICING ON ADULT HEALTH

Justin T. Pickett, Amanda Graham, and Francis T. Cullen, *The American Racial Divide in Fear of the Police*, Criminology (2022).

Purpose

- To examine the prevalence, sources, and consequences of fear of the police in Black and White Americans.

Methodology

- Researchers surveyed a nationwide sample of comparable numbers of Black (517) and White (492) respondents in 2021.
- The survey asked respondents about both personal fear of police and their altruistic fear.
    - To measure personal fear, researchers asked about their emotional fear "that the police will do the following things to you without good reason in the next five years." They rated how afraid they were (0 = very unafraid, 4 = very afraid) of falling victim to ten types of police mistreatment (e.g. "punch or kick you," "pepper spray you," or "kill you").
    - To measure altruistic fear, researchers asked how often (0 = very rarely, 4 = very often) the respondents "worry about the police hurting the following people," and listed seven groups (including family members, friends, and neighbors).
- In an effort to determine possible sources of fear of police, researchers asked respondents about their own personal experiences of prior police mistreatment and how many times police had mistreated their family members or close friends. They also asked respondents about their overall exposure to the news.
- The survey also measured two possible outcomes of police-related fear: support for defunding the police and intentions to engage in defense legal socialization (i.e. likelihood that the respondent would advise young family members to stay away from police or teach them how to protect themselves from police).
- Researchers examined how afraid respondents were of specific types of police contact by asking respondents about their relative preferences for events, such as rather they would rather be the victim of a serious felony (robbery or burglary) or experiences unprovoked police contact (questioned, searched, o arrested).

Results

- Most White respondents felt safe, but most Black respondents lived in high degrees of fear of the police killing them and hurting their family members.
- Most White respondents (61 percent) are more afraid of crime than of police, but most Black respondents (55 percent) are more afraid of police than of crime. Most Black

respondents (58 percent) are either "afraid" or "very afraid" of being killed by police, but only 34 percent are fearful of being murdered by someone who is not a police officer.
- The racial divide in fear was linked to past experiences with police mistreatment.
- Overall news consumption was not significantly associated with personal or altruistic fear. These findings are inconsistent with the idea that fear simply reflects media bias and instead supports the position that individuals' fears reflect their lived reality.
- Fearing the police was linked to support of defunding the police and intentions to have "the talk" with young family members about the need to distrust and avoid officers.
- Approximately half of Black respondents preferred to be robbed or burglarized than to have unprovoked contact with officers.

Hannah K. Caison, *A Familiar and Recurring Evil: Why Defendants Should Ask Potential Jurors About Police Brutality*, 100 (1) N.C. L. Rev. 309 (2021).

- This law review article provides insight on the inclusion of questions about race and police brutality in voir dire.
- The author explores *State v. Crump*, where the Supreme Court of North Carolina held that Black male defendants involved in shootings with the police do have the right to include questions about race and police brutality in voir dire.
    - Ramar Crump, a Black man, called his mother to say what he thought was his final goodbye moments after realizing the men with whom he had exchanged gunshots were police officers. Only fifteen days prior, Jonathan Ferrell, an unarmed Black man, had been shot and killed by police just thirteen miles away. Crump was convicted of assault with a deadly weapon. The Supreme Court of North Carolina reversed his conviction, holding that the trial court abused its discretion and prejudiced Crump when it "categorically denied" his attorney's attempts to question potential jurors both generally about their racial biases and specifically about their impressions of police shootings of Black men.
- The author asserts that by engaging in a frank conversation with potential jurors about their impressions of police interactions with Black people, attorneys can help secure their clients' constitutional right to an impartial jury. Especially in an era where police brutality is well-known and well-documented, questions about race during voir dire will be most effective when they center on specific instances of racial bias and police brutality.
- Failing to discuss race does not mean jurors will be unaffected by racial bias. Instead, it means jurors are left totally to themselves to form conclusions about how race affected a particular case.
- Defense attorneys should ask about high-profile instances of police brutality against Black people to both gauge reactions by jury members and to prompt those jurors to truly examine their own biases before deciding the guilt or innocence of Black defendants.
- Some answers may reveal that a juror is impartial and should be struck from the jury. But even if no juror expresses a view that makes an attorney question their impartiality, these questions are still valuable because it brings the reality of police brutality and racism to the jurors' minds at the beginning of the case.
- The author recommends attorneys:

- Frame questions around specific factual instances of police brutality against Black people, as opposed to more general inquiries about racial bias
- Not only use cases in close geographical proximity, but look to nationally-known stories of police brutality
- Avoid accusations of using "stake-out" questions—questions that attempt to ascertain what a juror's decision would be under a specific set of facts—by carefully framing questions as aiming to invoke conversations about race rather than asking jurors how they would have voted in similar cases.

Susan A. Bandes, Marie Pryor, Erin M. Kerrison, Phillip Atiba Goff, *The Mismeasure of Terry Stops: Assessing the Psychological and Emotional Harms of Stop and Frisk to Individuals and Communities*, 37 Behav. Sci. Law 176 (2019).

- This article highlights the robust social science literature on the effects of *Terry* stops on people of color, both immediately and over time, and on communities as a whole.
- *Terry* stops subject individuals to harassment and have negative physical, emotional, and psychological effects. Stops and frisks are especially traumatizing for people with disabilities, mental illness, and histories of sexual trauma.
- Youth experience psychological harm and feelings of resentment toward police after *Terry* stops.
- *Terry* stops create distrust of law enforcement and discourage cooperation with the police, which can harm the overall safety of communities.
- The authors recommend that stakeholders re-evaluate the consequences of the *Terry* regime. In *Terry*, the Supreme Court balanced the contribution of "stop and frisk" to effective crime prevention against the impact of the intrusion on individual rights. The harm caused by current stop and frisk practices outweighs any minimal benefit such stops may contribute to public safety

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Jacob Bor et al., *Police Killings and their Spillover Effects on the Mental Health of Black Americans: A Population-Based, Quasi-Experimental Study*, 392 The Lancet 1 (2018).

Purpose & Methodology

- This study examines the effects of police killings on the mental health of people who are not directly affected.
- Combines data on police killings with individual-level data from the 2013-15 US Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System to estimate the causal impact of police killings of unarmed Black Americans on self-reported mental health of other Black American adults in the US.

Results

- 38,993 of 103,710 Black American respondents were exposed to one or more police killings of unarmed Black people in the prior 3 months. The largest effects on mental health occurred in the 1-2 months after exposure.

- Police killings of unarmed Black Americans have adverse effects on the mental health (including stress, depression and anxiety, and problems with emotions) of Black adults in the general population.

Naomi F. Sugie & Kristin Turney, *Beyond Incarceration: Criminal Justice Contact and Mental Health*, 82 Am. Soc. Rev. 719 (2017).

Purpose

- This study examines how various types of criminal justice contact—arrest, conviction, and incarceration—impacts young adults' mental health.

Methodology

- Participants included non-Hispanic white, non-Hispanic Black, and Hispanic youths who had contact with the criminal justice system. The average age was twenty-four years.
- Researchers asked participants to rate on a scale of 1-4 (where 1 meant "all of the time," 2 meant "most of the time," 3 meant "some of the time," and 4 meant "none of the time") how often within the past month they felt nervous, calm and peaceful, downhearted and blue, happy, and "so down in the dumps that nothing could cheer them up."
- Researchers took the average of each participant's answers to determine each participant's overall mental health. Answers for "calm and peaceful" and "happy" were reverse-coded, so the higher average values indicated poorer mental health.

Results

- Arrests, independent of conviction and incarceration, was associated with worse mental health—meaning, participants felt more nervous, downhearted, and blue, and less calm, peaceful, and happy.
- Further, arrests were cumulatively related to mental health; in other words, each arrest incrementally contributed to poorer mental health.
- Incarceration, independent of arrest and conviction, was associated with poor mental health. Moreover, the type of incarceration mattered: both current and pretrial incarceration were associated with poorer mental health. Recent incarceration and incarceration with conviction were not associated with poorer mental health.

Sirry Alang et al., *Police Brutality and Black Health: Setting the Agenda for Public Health Scholars*, 107(5) Am. J. Pub. Health 662-665 (2017).

- This article investigates the link between police brutality and poor health outcomes among Blacks and argues that public health scholars must prioritize generating evidence of the causal relationship between police brutality and health inequities and seeking solutions.
- The article focused on five pathways:
  (1) fatal injuries that increase population-specific mortality rates;
  (2) adverse physiological responses that increase morbidity;
  (3) racist public reactions that cause stress;

(4) arrests, incarcerations, and legal, medical, and funeral bills that cause financial strain; and
(5) integrated oppressive structures that cause systematic disempowerment.

- Police killings increase Black-specific mortality rates. Even though only two percent of injuries from police interventions that require treatment in the emergency department or hospital result in death, Blacks are almost five times more likely than whites to have a police intervention-related injury.
- Experiencing or witnessing police brutality, hearing stories of friends who have experienced brutality, and having to worry about becoming a victim are all psychological stressors.
- "One example of a racist public reaction that might cause stress is arguing that victims were somehow responsible for their own untimely murders—dissecting the guilt or innocence of the murdered persons versus understanding how white supremacy might have caused this."
- Police brutality affects individual and community health through its toll on productivity and on the economy. In addition to job loss after incarceration, survivors of brutality may have to deal with disabilities resulting from police use of excessive force.
- Excessive police force and inadequate prosecution of perpetrators may increase feelings of powerlessness in the Black community.

Thema Bryant-Davis et al., *The Trauma Lens of Police Violence against Racial and Ethnic Minorities*, 73(4) J. Soc. Iss. 852-871 (2017).

- This article explores the available scholarship focused on police brutality perpetrated against racial and ethnic minorities from the lens of trauma studies.
- It conducts a review of the psychological literature by searching terms such as police brutality, police violence, race-based traumatic stress, racist-incident– based trauma, racism and trauma, intergenerational trauma, and complex trauma.
- The potential psychological consequences for the direct and indirect targets of racially and ethnically motivated police brutality may include, but are not limited to, distrust, fear, anger, shame, PTSD, isolation, and self-destructive behaviors.

Abigail A. Sewell & Kevin Jefferson, *Collateral Damage: The Health Effects of Invasive Police Encounters in New York City*, 93 J. Urb. Health 42-67 (2016).

Purpose

- This study evaluates the associations between invasive aspects of pedestrian stops and multiple dimensions of poor health.

Results

- Living in neighborhoods where pedestrian stops are more likely to become invasive is associated with worse health.
- Living in neighborhoods where stops are more likely to result in frisking show the most consistent negative associations.

- Minorities who live in neighborhoods with a wider ethno-racial disparity in police behavior have poorer health outcomes in most respects.
- Stops generally worsen the health of Blacks and Latinos relative to whites and Asians.

Abigail A. Sewell et al., *Living Under Surveillance: Gender, Psychological Distress, and Stop-Question-and-Frisk Policing in New York City*, 159 Soc. Sci. Med. 1-13 (2016).

Purpose & Methodology

- This study highlights the collateral consequences of mass incarceration, including stop-and-frisk policing tactics.
- It examines whether there is an association between psychological distress and neighborhood-level aggressive policing such as frisking and use of force by police, and whether that association varies by gender.

Results

- While the neighborhood stop rate exhibits inconsistent associations with psychological distress, neighborhood-level frisk and use of force proportions are linked to higher levels of non-specific psychological distress among men, but not women.
- Specifically, men exhibit more non-specific psychological distress and more severe feelings of nervousness, effort, and worthlessness in aggressively surveilled neighborhoods than do women.
- Male residents are affected by the escalation of stop-and-frisk policing in a neighborhood. Living in a context of aggressive policing is an important risk factor for men's mental health.

Amanda Geller et al., *Aggressive Policing and the Mental Health of Young Urban Men*, 104(12) Am. J. Pub. Health 2321–2327 (2014).

Purpose & Methodology

- This study surveyed young men aged 18 to 26 years in New York City on their police encounter experiences and subsequent mental health.
- Respondents reported how many times they were approached by New York Police Department officers, what these encounters entailed, any trauma they attributed to the stops, and their overall anxiety.

Results

- Young men reporting police contact, particularly more intrusive contact, displayed higher levels of anxiety and trauma associated with their experiences.
    - Anxiety symptoms were significantly related to the number of times the young men were stopped and to how they perceived the critical encounter was conducted.
    - Respondents who reported more lifetime stops experienced more trauma symptoms. Trauma levels were also significantly higher among public housing residents.

        - Stop intrusion remained a statistically significant predictor of PTSD.
- Observed health implications were strongest in the most intrusive encounters.